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BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt—the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
492 mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
464 backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
567 labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
177 Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
162 The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and re- 162 mained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths 567

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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center

BB 161 162 of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
198 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
198 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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[27]Prado, op. cit., p. 87.

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[28]Prado, op. cit., p. 97.

[29]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 5-6.

[30]The number of people who went abroad must always have been small. The upper class as a whole seems to have been extremely provincial, so that the few cosmopolitans were very conspicuous.

[31]Amaral, op. cit., I, 91-92, citing Pizarro, Balbi, Manoel Antonio de Souza, and Spix and Martius for population data of the colonial period.

[32]Amaral, op. cit., I, 73.

[33]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 9. At this time Rio de Janeiro, which had been the national capital since 1763, became also the largest city.

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[34]Amaral, op cit., I, 91, after Balbi, gives the following breakdown [1819]

	Total	Slave	Negro	Mulatto
White	192,000			
Indian	13,000			
Mulatto-Free	80,000			80,000
Mulatto-Slave	35,000	35,000		35,000
Negro-Free	49,000		49,000	
Negro-Slave	489,000	489,000	489,000	
	858,000	524,000	538,000	115,000

after Pizarro [1822]

Free	419,432
Slave	173,476
Total	592,908

[35]Amaral, op. cit., II, 85.

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[36]The Paulista bandeirantes were wandering cultivators, herdsmen, and slave raiders who moved out of São Paulo to penetrate into most of the interior of Brazil south of the Amazon Valley. Their society was, in comparison with that of the Recôncavo, equalitarian.

EB [635]

[37]The Central-South as used here includes the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

[38]Amaral, op. cit., II, 86.

[39]Ibid., p. 98.

[40]The discussion of the twentieth century reorganization of the sugar industry and of the tobacco industry outlines the general lines of development. A fuller discussion will follow in the chapters on crops and cropland distribution (Chapter V), crop regions and systems (Chapter VI), and marketing, transportation and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.06	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.
Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others"--mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

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563 in all municípios but three--Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

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Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively [871] well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational [871] range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Négro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

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369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

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[162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira de Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force--Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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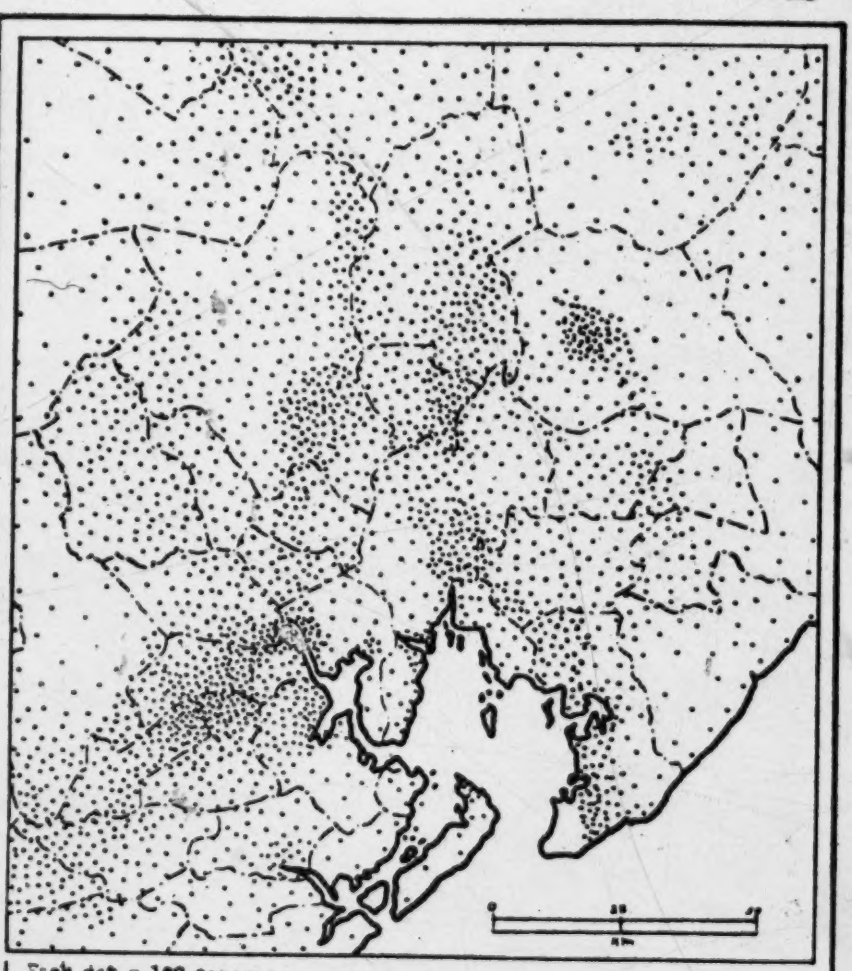

Each dot = 100 persons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Anuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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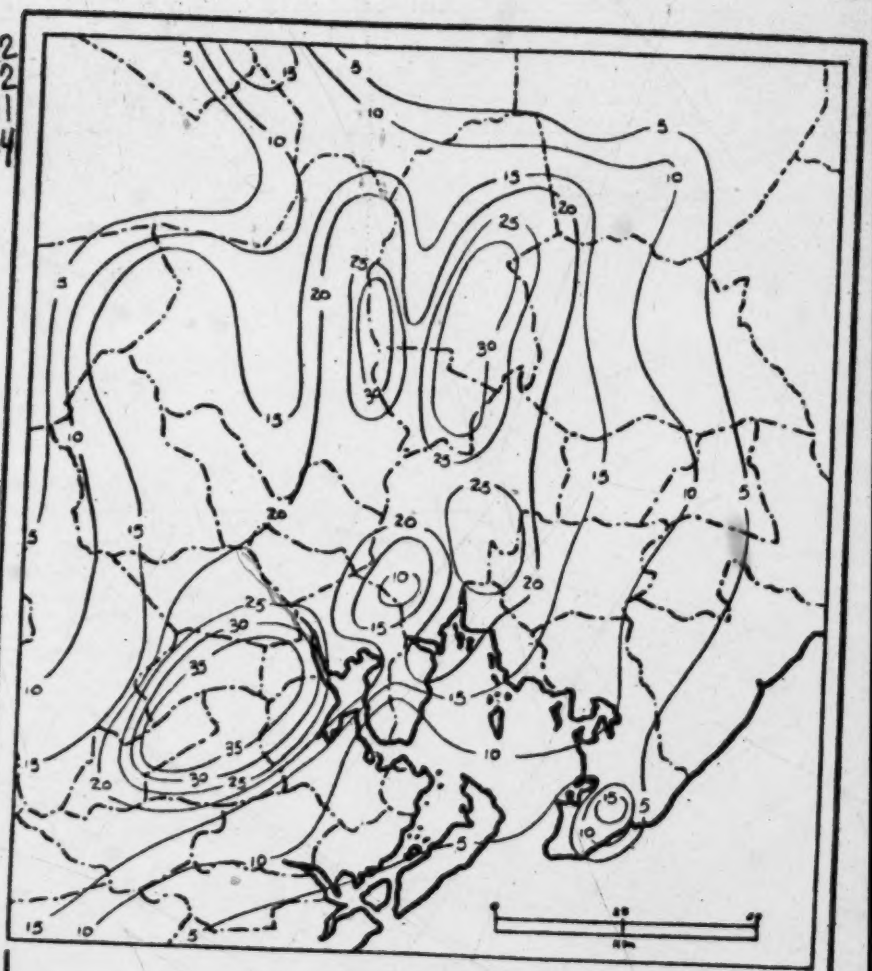

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará, Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161
162 Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed
241
464 of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios--São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Félix	São Félix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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464
634

The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
311 this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi-
162 cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently
241 it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural
464 workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40
131 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

634

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of
162 agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião,
241 and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric
464 belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo.
131 There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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161 else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a
162 cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settle-
241 ments scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about
464 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.
361

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be
161 visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas
162 with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is
131 one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of
241 Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than
464 ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square
kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for
133 the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--
here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad.
On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast—this sparsely settled
zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been
161 seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--
162 movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern.
241 The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and
464 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local reloca-
tion.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost
161 almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three
162 municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro,
241 São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other
464 hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern
634 Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão—there were
gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine
lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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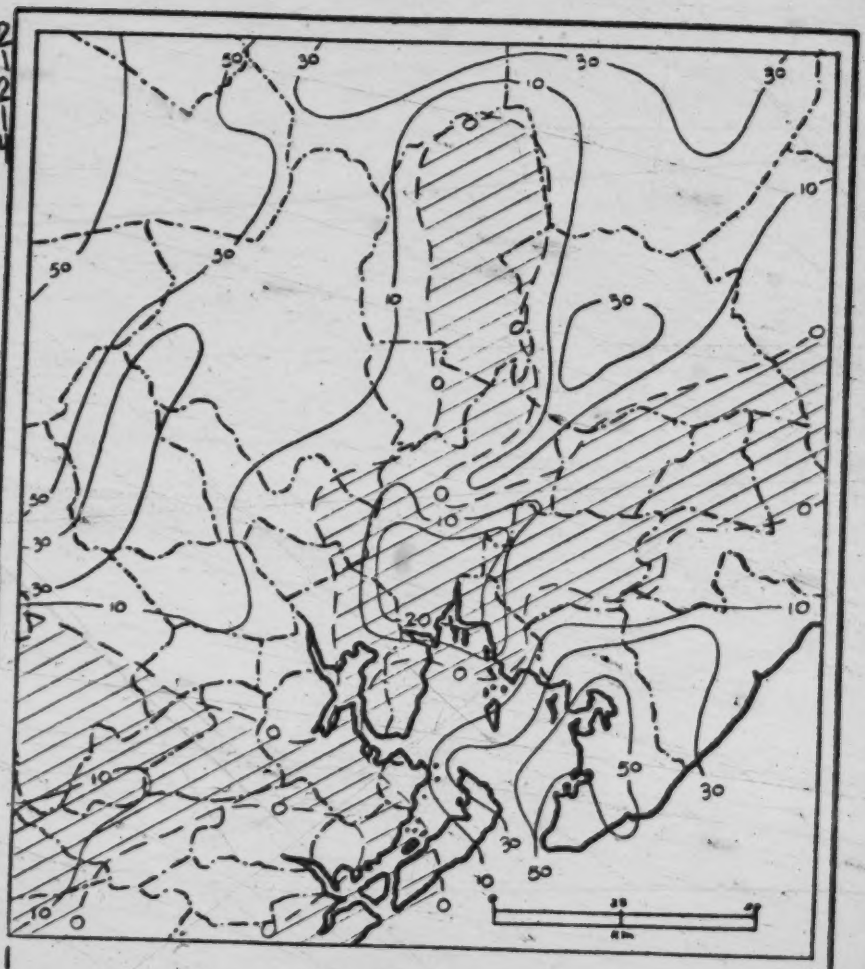

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

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161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
162 13 per cent.
241
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontent d or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
178 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the restricted sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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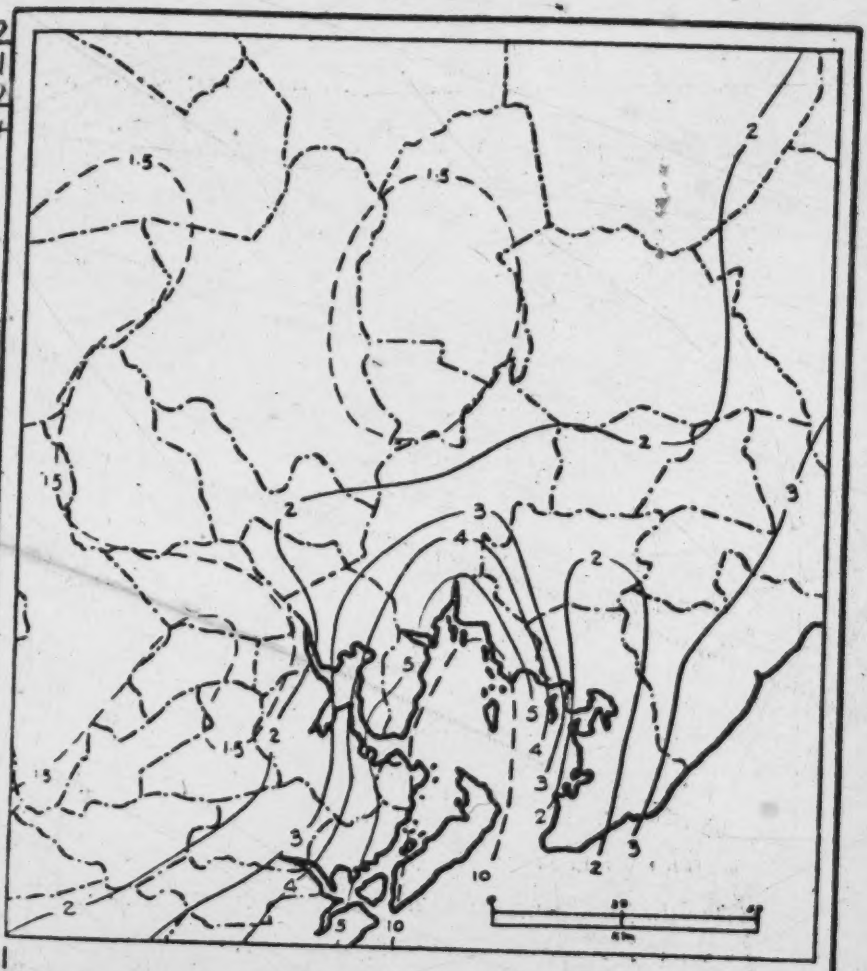

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950 (estimated)

MAP 20

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

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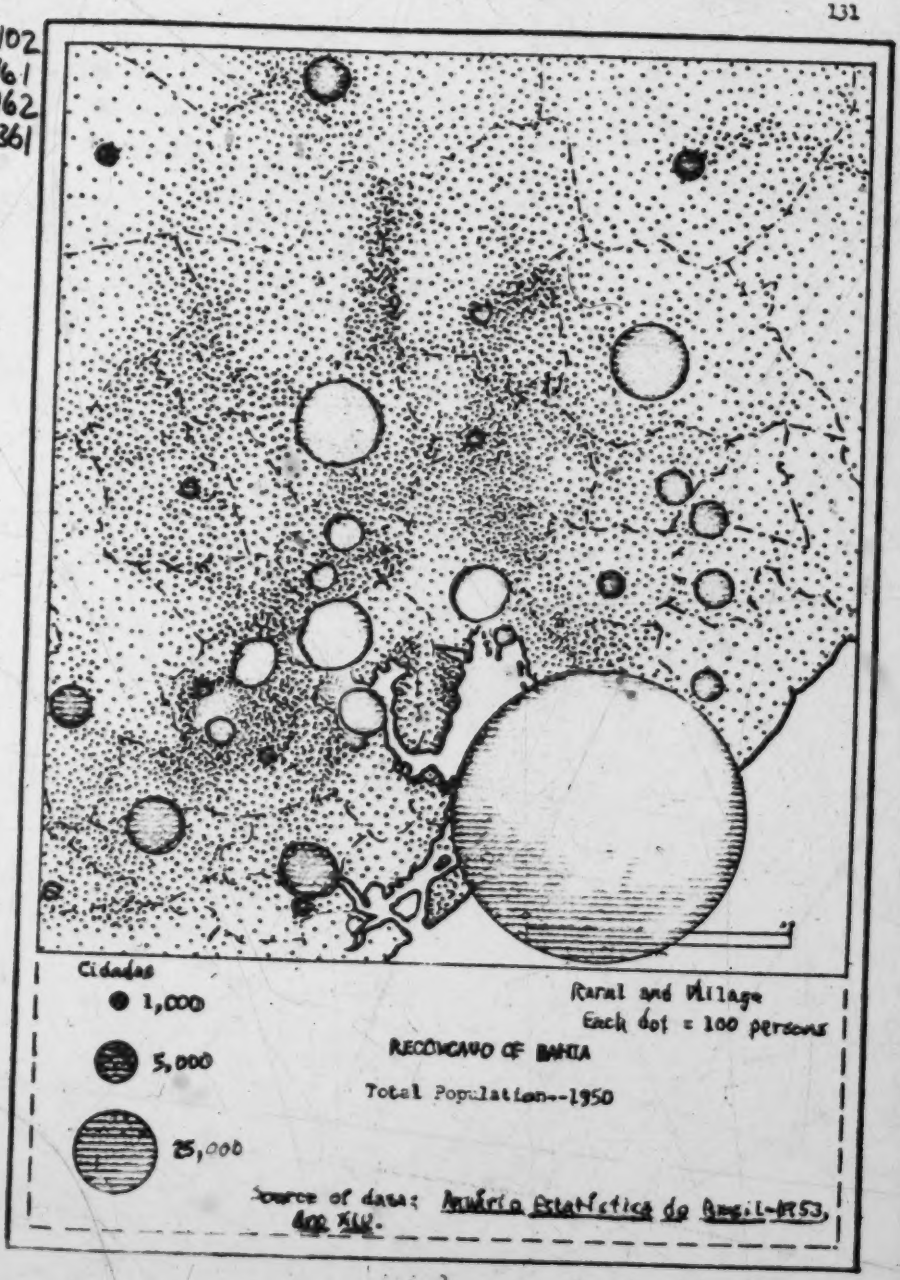

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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway 496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 161

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633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in [443] Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 • 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricultural workers or renters. [461] At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[127]

[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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245 311 The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of [161] [162] [361] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 244 311 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

[134] Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally [162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are characteristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which [361] overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

505 When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
133 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
[501] muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[226] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which
[162] at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons.
[368] The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long
[504] dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered [871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

• 162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between *249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the country is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of 311 sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used exclusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying *249 firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or [423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5. (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

[The Private Plantation]

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 462 • 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain disprais-
al of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the res- [157]
ident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of [571]
Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from [162] •
a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

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Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

3a Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11

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[Class A Families]

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596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a marriage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

[423]

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.

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The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kindred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

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There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

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There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851. 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 • [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

565*
736

Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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565*
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[162]•

The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

[583]

[162]

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

2a Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

*565
592
[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

*565
592
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463

TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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836
159
848

The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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[464]

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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[362]
[743]
[872]
[529]
[242]

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[131]
[634]

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

[423]
[634]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[504]
[487]
[438]
[162]
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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled.' There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

3t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cortadores* at the harvest-planting season.

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[464]
[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money.
[461] The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464] evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466] from the permanent workers. [249]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157] American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461] him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464] workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466] They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162 ● sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little *mulata*. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'. [829]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[1]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[1] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7 6
Mixed-blood	97	38 6
White	128	51 0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2 0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0 8
Total	251	100 0

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No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vásconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brasil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,266 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid*., July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	119	90
1900	131	87	84
1901	132	74	78
1902	102	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

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Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw .... contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management .... so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brasil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER IV

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RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

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DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 350, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

*Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

†Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto mothers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

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mixture of the nationalities in the United States, where old families of pure English descent have for some time been mingling their blood with that of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, and the Mediterranean peoples. "Even if one marries a person who does not himself possess some African blood," said a young lady of the upper class, "this same individual

TABLE 6

VARIATION IN PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS,* BAHIA, 1936

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CHILD	MOTHER			
	Black		Mulatto	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Color lighter, hair "straighter"	55	24.9	45	22.5
Color lighter	12	5.4	34	17.0
Hair "straighter"	12	5.4	20	10.0
Color lighter, hair more kinky	0	0.0	2	1.0
Color darker, hair "straighter"	0	0.0	1	0.5
Color darker	0	0.0	3	1.5
Hair more kinky	0	0.0	3	1.5
Color darker, hair more kinky	0	0.0	1	0.5
No noticeable variation	142	64.3	91	45.5
Total	221	100.0	200	100.0

* As determined by inspection.

will have cousins or other relatives of African descent. Somewhere there will be a connection."

"It is very hard to say a man doesn't have some Negro blood coming from somewhere in his recent or remote past," said a prominent *branco* lawyer and politician. "Take myself, for instance. I can't say for certain that my grandparents didn't have African connections. 'Quando não vem de perto, vem de longe' ['If it isn't close, it's distant']."

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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[1]

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In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

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According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

[1] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white–*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.[*] It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

[*] It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[4] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[4] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the occupational scale, and they appear only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

TABLE 8

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE				
		Black*	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*§	Total
Carregadores†	100	93.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	100
Laundresses	200	89.5	9.5	0.0	1.0	100
Carroceiros‡	100	83.0	15.0	0.0	2.0	100
Masons	125	82.4	16.8	0.0	0.8	100
Stevedores	125	81.6	15.4	1.6	1.6	100
Truck helpers	250	81.2	18.0	0.8	0.0	100
Domestics	250	78.8	18.8	0.8	1.6	100
Street laborers	225	78.3	21.2	0.5	0.0	100
Candy-peddlers	100	77.0	21.0	1.0	1.0	100
Cobblers	70	74.4	22.8	2.8	0.0	100
Venders	200	68.5	28.0	3.5	0.0	100
Newsboys	100	68.0	31.0	1.0	0.0	100
Shoe-shiners	50	66.0	32.0	2.0	0.0	100
Streetcar motormen	80	60.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	100
Truck-drivers	150	44.7	43.3	10.7	1.3	100

* It is, of course, possible that individuals with some degree of mixture are included in this category. Color and hair texture were the differentials particularly noted.

† *Carregadores* operate at the port, discharging the functions of porters and baggagemen.

‡ Individuals who own a mule and a two-wheeled cart and transport goods about the city are known as *carroceiros*.

§ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

Of the employments in which relatively unmixed blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate, those in which there appeared to be more blacks than mulattoes (together with the corresponding percentages) were as indicated in Table 8. The mulattoes in each case were predominantly dark mixed-bloods.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Of the same employments (in which blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than unmixed blacks were as indicated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER BLACKS, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE				
		Mulatto	Black	White	*Caboclo*	Total
Barbers*	150	74.0	20.0	6.0	0.0	100
Band musicians†	98	68.4	23.5	8.1	0.0	100
Street-sweepers	75	62.7	34.7	2.6	0.0	100
Streetcar *fiscais*‡	50	62.0	24.0	10.0	4.0	100
Streetcar conductors	80	58.8	22.5	16.2	2.5	100
Firemen†	100	58.0	32.0	9.0	1.0	100
Bus *cobradores*§	90	54.5	30.0	12.2	3.3	100
Taxi-drivers	85	54.1	31.8	9.4	4.7	100
Police*	150	54.0	32.6	13.4	0.0	100
Bus-drivers	90	50.0	27.8	17.8	4.4	100
Soldiers†	750	48.1	40.5	11.1	0.3	100

* These mulattoes were predominantly light.
† These mulattoes were predominantly dark.
‡ Individuals who check streetcar conductor's records.
§ *Cobradores* are fare-collectors in some cases, changeboys in others.

Of the employments in which whites and mulattoes appear to be predominant, those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than whites were as given in Table 10.

Of the same employments (in which whites and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more whites than mulattoes were as indicated in Table 11.

Thus, the occupational groups found to be composed probably three-fourths or more of relatively unmixed blacks

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE			
		Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57 6†	42 4	0 0	100
Inferior	38	47 4	34 2	15 8	100‡
Clerks	350	55 1§	44 6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuso*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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bank employees, and businessmen;[1] among those two-thirds white (in addition to the above): professors in the Faculdades, lawyers, politicians, and cabaret entertainers;[2] and among those half or more white (in addition to the groups

TABLE 11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE				
		White	Mulatto	Black	*Brancos da Bahia*	Total
Bank employees	125	84.0	2.4	0.0	13.6	100
Priests	50	76.0	8.0	0.0	16.0	100
Businessmen	40	75.0	7.5	0.0	17.5	100
Cabaret entertainers	26	73.1	11.5	0.0	15.4	100
Professors (Faculdades)	232	70.3	14.2	0.0	15.5	100
Lawyers	413	67.1	9.7	1.7	15.2	100*
Politicians	60	66.7	11.6	1.7	18.3	100†
Physicians	100	63.0	20.0	1.0	16.0	100
Teachers (secondary)	58	57.0	24.1	3.4	15.5	100
Commercial employees	325	54.8	27.4	1.6	15.3	100‡
Government *funcionarios*	250	45.2	32.8	5.6	16.0	100§

* Indian-white descent, 0.7 per cent; Indian-Negro descent, 0.7 per cent; white-Negro-Indian descent, 0.5 per cent; incomplete records, 4.4 per cent.

† *Mamaluco* (white-Indian mixed-blood), 1.7 per cent.

‡ *Mamaluco*, 0.6 per cent; *cafuso*, 0.3 per cent.

§ *Mamaluco*, 0.4 per cent.

just named): physicians, commercial and government employees, and teachers in the secondary schools.

Of the first 500 *brancos* applying in 1935 at the Gabinete

[1] If *brancos da Bahia* are included in the white group, one would have to add cabaret entertainers, professors (advanced schools), politicians, lawyers, and physicians.

[2] If *brancos da Bahia* are included, one would have to add physicians, teachers in the secondary schools, and commercial employees.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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de Identificação for cards of identification, 292 were males. Of these, 213 were classified as students, 17 as businessmen, 11 as salesmen, 8 as government clerks, 8 as commercial employees, 5 as soldiers, 4 as teachers, 4 as hucksters, 3 as peddlers (a Rumanian Jew, a Pole, and a Spaniard), 3 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as engineers, 2 as house servants, and 1 each as carpenter, printer, auto mechanic, sailor, ship's engineer, tailor, musician (instrumental), vocalist, magistrate, laborer, farmer, and *proprietario* (one whose income is derived from rentals). Of the 208 females, 170 were classified as students, 24 as teachers, 7 as government clerks, 5 as housewives, 1 as vocalist, and 1 as typist.

Of the first 500 *pardos*, 244 were males. Of these, 90 were classified as students, 44 as peddlers, 25 as soldiers, 13 as commercial employees, 9 as mechanics, 7 as operators of bakeries, 7 as *carregadores*, 7 as shopkeepers, 6 as farmers, 4 as shoemakers, 3 as orchestra players, 3 as teachers, 2 as barbers, 2 as gardeners, 2 as house servants, 2 as beggars,[1] 2 as masons, 2 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as sailors, 2 as shoe-shiners, and 1 each as salesman, painter, carpenter, ironworker, tinsmith, vulcanizer, tailor, butcher, waiter, and truck-gardener. Of 256 females, 214 were classified as students, 30 as teachers, 4 as housewives, 2 as dressmakers, and 1 each as embroidery worker, designer, house servant, and beggar.

Of the first 155 *pretos*, 125 were males. Of these, 17 were classified as students, 51 as hucksters, 17 as *carregadores*, 8 as soldiers, 4 as bus *cobradores*, 3 as farmers, 4 as bakers, 2 as mechanics, 2 as masons, 2 as shoemakers, and 1 each as commercial employee, small shopkeeper, government clerk, decorator, hairdresser, pianist, jazz orchestra player, ironworker, leather worker, cabinet-maker, *carroceiro*, house

[1] *Mendicantes.*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum.

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites.

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks.

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

SEATS	PRICE (IN MIL-REIS)	OCCUPANTS	PERCENTAGE			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 4; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical).
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Caſuzo*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds			3		3
Horsemen	14	47	42		103
Horsewomen			16		16
Trumpeters	13		1		14
Bandsmen	45	51	5		101
Squires	111	5	1		117
Girls on floats		2	166		168
Men on floats		4	14		18
Queens			3		3
Pages	5	14	8		27
Escorts	6		4		10
Truck-drivers	1				1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113]

1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

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[363]

It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation

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of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113]

4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

5: Azevedo--7 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

[798 [62] social cohesion of the community (1).

• [162] [795]

1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

[871] [177]

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[829]

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563
• 162 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1),
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

5: Azevedo--27 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

[829] These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines. Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
*563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
• 162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

/38 cont./

*563 565 557 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 [162] [113]

and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

[113]

it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

*563 162

3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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• [162] 1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate [233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among [245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. [249] The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

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"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

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/52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

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The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 566 648 • [162] At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463] 1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 87 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[162]

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

[162]

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Metis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

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*563 • 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

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*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities, or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the distribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize the upper classes:

	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample representative of the total population, which proves, in fact, that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

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[SALVADOR]

Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.,	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists							
Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

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/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]

. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

5: Azevedo--144 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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